Understanding Victim Behaviour Through Offender Behaviour Typologies

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Introduction

This paper presents a theory of victimisation based on offender motivational typologies. That is, the proposed motivational typology can be applied to victim behaviour in all crimes and behaviours, and represents an attempt to explain the social, emotional and cognitive milieu in which victimisation occurs. Throughout this paper, the term victim will be used to describe anyone who suffers harm or loss, either at their own hands or at the hands of others.

Over time, numerous attempts have been made to answer the question, what causes criminal behaviour? This includes the "lumps and bumps" theories of the phrenologists, and the body typing of the Sheldons (see Seigel, 2008), through to socio-cultural explanations like labeling and strain theory (see White and Haines, 2004 for these and other perspectives). More modern attempts to understand the motivational forces behind criminality include Men Who Rape by Nicholas Groth (1979), Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977), and the first adaptation of the "Groth typology" in Practical Aspects of Rape Investigation (Hazelwood, 2009).

As with these attempts to understand offenders, victim behaviour has come under the spotlight. For example, Rhodes and McKenzie (1998) asked the question "why do battered women stay?", Koziol-McLain, Webster, McFarlane, Block, Ulrich, Glass and Campbell (2006) examined victim factors in femicide-suicide, and Mechanic, Weaver and Resick (2000) considered victim factors in stalking. These are, obviously, but a few examples among many.

Though most studies have improved our understanding of the contextual factors involved in victimisation, even those purportedly studying motivation mostly describe behaviour and not the cognitive components that initially compel that behaviour (see Felson and Krohn, 1990; Beech, Ward and Fisher, 2006 as examples). What is more, quantitative analyses of specific crime types may only provide an insight into that particular crime, and not apply to other crime types, even if of a similar nature. For example, Mullen, Pathe and Purcell (2009) provide an excellent typology of stalking, though it is not designed for use in domestic violence, despite the overlap that may exist between these two crimes. It should be noted that this may be an artifact of the sample under study, in that a study of stalkers will not inherently include domestic violence victims, though it may, and vice versa. This chapter differs in that it provides a typology of victim needs that can be used in a variety of contexts, independent to the crime type. It is therefore more useful in a general sense for understanding motivational elements.

First, this article will broadly define motivation, before going on to discuss the so-called "Groth typology" that was originally developed to understand rapist motivations and treatment in a clinical setting. Following this, the investigative adaptation of this typology by Hazelwood (2009) will be presented. The difference between motivations and victim precipitation will then be provided, leading into the main focus of this piece: the way that the offender motivation typologies apply to victim behaviour. Some research support for the motivational typologies will be presented to close out the discussion.

It should be noted that while the application of the typology discussed in this paper has some strong empirical and anecdotal support, it is a work in progress. Further research is currently being conducted to empirically validate this approach, and the specific application to victim behaviours to increase understanding and awareness of the psychological milieu in which victimisation occurs.

Motivation

Motivation refers to the general needs, whether physical or psychological, that drive behaviour. According to the Elsevier's Dictionary of Psychological Theories (Roeckelein, 2006, p. 406) motivation:

Comes from the same Latin stem "mot-" (meaning move) as does the term emotion. The term motive applies to any force that activates and gives direction to behaviour...The concept of motivation, as a fundamental influence in many phenomena, cuts across the various areas in psychology of intelligence, learning, personality, and thinking.

Inherent within this definition is the link between motivation and emotion. Essentially, emotion is one of the many forces that provides motivation, which is then expressed through behaviour, and it is the behaviour from which motive is interpreted. For the purpose of the rest of this discussion, there will be no debate as to whether this is biological, psychological, or social in origin. That issue is sizable enough to warrant a thesis in its own right.

The Groth Typology

In 1979, Nicholas Groth published Men Who Rape: The Psychology of the Offender, identifying rape as an aggressive act, which constitutes "a discharge of anger; it becomes evident that the rape is the way the offender expresses and discharges a mood state of intense anger, frustration, resentment, and rage" (1979, p. 12). In this text, Groth first presented the idea that rape has three main components: power, anger and sexuality, resulting in three rapist types. In anger rape, sexuality becomes a hostile act. In power rape, sexuality is an expression of conquest. In sadistic rape, there is a fusion between violence and sex wherein anger and power become eroticised (see Groth, 1979).

Published earlier, Groth collaborated with mentor Ann Burgess and Lynda Holmstrom to carry out research on a sample of 133 convicted rapists at the Massachusetts Center for the Diagnosis and Treatment of Sexually Dangerous Persons. Also included was a sample of 146 [alleged] rape victims who presented to a Boston hospital with the claim "I've been raped". Of this sample, 92 adult rape victims were included in the study. According to Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977), the impetus for this study was an increasing awareness of rape victims coupled with a lack of understanding of rapists and their motivations. This study represents a more advanced understanding of rapist behaviour, including greater depth within the types.

The idea behind the typology is that while there is significant variation between offenders, there are identifiable themes that can used to identify the motive behind the crime (Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom, 1977, p. 1240):

One of the most basic observations one can make about rapists is that they are not all alike. Similar acts are performed for different reasons or different acts serve similar purposes. Our clinical experience with convicted offenders and with victims of reported sexual assault has shown that in all cases of forcible rape three components are present: power, anger, and sexuality. The hierarchy and interrelationships among these three factors, together with the relative intensity with which each is experienced and the variety of ways in which each is expressed, may vary, but there is sufficient clustering to indicate distinguishable patterns of rape.

From this research, Groth and colleagues developed the typology along two general axes. The first, power, has two subtypes: power reassurance and power assertive. The second, anger, also has two subtypes: anger retaliation and anger excitation. This typology served as the basis for the expanded work of Hazelwood and Burgess and is presented in Practical Aspects of Rape Investigation (2009).

Taking this typology one step further, Petherick and Turvey (2008) suggest it is not restricted only to sexual crimes, but is useful for understanding the motivation in virtually all offenses, including stalking, homicide, domestic violence, assault, and fraud, among others. This typology can also be applied to more esoteric understandings, such as membership of gangs, and in this paper, to

victims of crime. The following section briefly describes the offender motivational typologies by way of background before looking at the application of these types to victim behaviour.

Power Reassurance

The Reassurance Offender has low self esteem, and the offence is an attempt to stabilise doubts about his masculinity and sexual adequacy. The offender wants to place the victim in a position in which they cannot be rejected, thereby shoring up a failing sense of worth (Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom, 1977). Because the offender has constructed a fantasy scenario in which the victim is somehow consenting, reassurance motivated offenders are the least likely to use physical force (Hazelwood, 2009).

Power Assertive

The Assertive Offender also has a low self esteem, and the offense is an attempt to restore stability through mastery and domination. In short, this offender makes themselves feel better by making others feel bad. Fantasy plays a minor role in these crimes, with this type of rapist being responsible for date, spousal, or acquaintance rapes as well as stranger rapes (Hazelwood, 2009). The victim is a vehicle through which virility is expressed, and they do not care if the victim is hurt or injured (Hazelwood, 2009). While outwardly appearing macho and confident, the rape is a reflection of the inadequacy experienced in identity and effectiveness (Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom, 1977).

Anger Retaliatory

Also known as Revenge, this category is an expression of hostility towards women (Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom, 1977). Rape is a punishing act, and may have a cathartic effect, leaving the offender feeling as though their cause has been justified. This feeling may be temporary however, with anger rising when the situation returns or worsens. This may see the anger generalised to other groups or institutions. These offenders are usually physically violent (Hazelwood, 2009), though are less common than the other types.

Anger Excitation

While the least common type, the excitation offender is the most brutal in their physical attacks and has the most capacity to kill their victims. These attacks are usually prolonged, and may involve the use of complex apparatus. This offender received gratification not necessarily from the infliction of physical pain, but in the victim's response to it. As such, these offenders are best off thought of as sexual sadists (Hazelwood, 2009; Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom, 1977).

The Hazelwood Adaptation

Following Groth, Holmstrom and Burgess (1977), Hazelwood (2009) was perhaps the first to modify Groth's typology in a significant way. Building upon earlier work, Hazelwood was to further advance the typology by categorising the verbal, sexual and physical behaviour of the offender, as well as the addition of two types: Opportunistic and Gang. These will not be discussed further as they are contexts in which criminal behaviour occurs, and not motives in their own right.

Understanding Victim Behaviour

While there will be differences between victim and offender behaviour, such as the use of force and coercive tactics (but not necessarily in all cases), there is benefit in applying this motivational typology to victims. As with offender behaviour, victim behaviour can be classified according to needs and wants, and this typology serves as a useful and practical guide for this purpose.

Before moving forward, the following rationales are provided for approaching victim behaviour in this way:

Provisioning crime prevention techniques requires a detailed understanding of the psychological state of the victim.
Threat management, as a form of crime prevention, requires a detailed understanding of the psychological state of the victim.
Victim's services need to develop an accurate accounting of the psychological state of the victim.
Understanding motivations provides context to victim precipitation
Investigating any given crime will be more complete when the motivation of the victim is understood.
Understanding behavioural motivation will enable a more complete understanding of the circumstances involving missing persons.
Providing victims with insight into behaviours that places them in harms way with a view to reducing or eliminating these behaviours, potentially reducing criminal and other victimisation.
From a mental health point of view, understanding the motivational backdrop will assist in designing effective therapeutic interventions.

When applying this typology to victim behaviour, it is also necessary to consider the role of situation and context in victimisation as this provides useful insight into the circumstances surrounding the event. The motivational typologies build upon this because they provide the psychological backdrop to why the victim ended up in these circumstances.

Victim precipitation argues that the dynamics of a criminal act cannot be understood solely by looking only at the offender, and that the role of the victim must be examined also (Diaz, Petherick and Turvey, 2009). Wolfgang (1957) first used the concept of victim precipitation to explain situations where the victim of a crime first initiated the use of physical violence. The concept has since been expanded to include any provocation or facilitation of the crime by the victim (Timmer and Norman, 1984).

Concern has been raised by a number of authors that victim precipitation involves blaming the victim for the harm or loss. Doerner and Lab (2002, p. 9) state that "victim precipitation deals with the degree to which the victim is responsible for his or her own victimisation". Furthermore, Timmer and Norman (1984) suggest that focus on the situational and not structural variables leads to a preoccupation with the victim-offender relationship and to blaming the victim. While a legitimate concern, the reality of precipitation is that is provides a necessary context to the victim-offender interaction constituting the criminal event.

Perhaps a more pertinent concern about victim precipitation is an adaptation of Timmer and Norman's, in that a focus on situational variables does little to aid our understanding about how a victim came to be in that situation. Put another way, what cognitive or emotional processes underpin a person repeatedly getting into relationships where they suffer domestic abuse, or placing themselves in environments where they can be victimised? In overriding an instinctual response to disengage from a relationship where there is stalking and/or harassment? Or in getting involved in a cult at significant financial, personal, or emotional cost? The answer to these questions is the province of victim motivations.

Siegel (2008) suggests that precipitation can take two forms. Passive precipitation involves situations in which characteristics of the victim somehow evoke a response from an attacker. This may be in the form of an actual attribute, (passivity or emotional withdrawal), it can be symbolic (membership to a group), or imagined (mistaken belief about an attitude or philosophy).

Passive precipitation requires no conscious action or decision on the part of the victim to raise the ire of the offender. This occurs simply because the victim exhibits some characteristic or personality feature that causes a degree of dissonance in the offender, resulting in some sanction. Actively precipitated events involve actual actions. This can be in the form of verbal threats, as in the case of posturing, or it can be an actual physical assault. In some situations, it may be difficult to determine which party was the aggressor and which the victim.

Within the context of this discussion, this is the point at which precipitation ceases and an attempt to understand the cognitive milieu of victimisation must occur. With the exception of purely opportunistic elements, it is these cognitive forces that drive behaviour, and it is these elements that will ultimately put a person in harm's way.

It should be noted that, as with the offender motivation typologies, there is no bright yellow line between the following victim motivations. They are also not mutually exclusive, and any given person may exhibit multiple behaviours in a single instance, or multiple motivations over multiple instances. This reflects the many and varied nature of human behaviour and its subsequent determinants. It is important to recognise any change within the event, or between events, and to determine what caused these changes.

The following motivations are in no way intended to blame the victim or paint the victim in a negative light. They are intended only to provide circumstantial bearing to situations involving harm or loss. Nor should the following discussion on concordant personality disorders be used to suggest that all victims have personality disorders, thought it should be acknowledged that victims may form part of a clinical sub-sample where disorder is higher than that of the general population (see Sansone, Reddington, Sky and Widerman, 2007; Boudreaux, Kilpatrick, Resnick, Best and Saunders, 1998; McCullogh, Emmons, Kilpatrick and Mooney, 2003). It is therefore important to understand any relationship between motivation and disorder, and the degree to which this may play a role in the perception and presentation of victimisation to afford as holistic an insight into the event as possible.

Reassurance Oriented Victims

Reassurance Oriented victims have low self esteem, and engage in behaviour that is intended to restore or reinforce their self worth. They tend to have low confidence, feel inadequate, and have little idea about socially appropriate interactions. They may have been previously victimised, sometimes repeatedly, because they are willing to accept abuse thinking it is deserved, or because they put more emphasis on their partner's value when in a relationship. Reassurance oriented victims most often passively precipitate events through their passive nature and willingness to be subservient.

Reassurance victims have a poor self image, fearing that their appearance is never good enough, or that their social skills are wanting, leading to difficulty in social situations. When challenged or confronted, or if in fear of abandonment, they will beg and plead, bargaining with others to restore what they perceive is the status quo.

Over time, a reassurance oriented victim may become so acculturated to violence or abuse that they come to accept it as part of any given relationship. They are willing to accept the abuse because the personal injury is less than the emotional cost of being alone. The abuse then becomes so ingrained in their existence, there is concern they will lose their identity without it (see Few, 2005). In extreme and chronic cases of dependent behaviour, repeated rejections may have such a profound impact that compensatory behaviours of avoidance surface.

Because this motivation is the result of low self esteem, it may be the result of personality disorders where low self esteem is a factor. This would include Borderline Personality Disorder, Dependent Personality Disorder, Avoidant Personality Disorder and Histrionic Personality Disorder.

Borderline personality disorder is characterised by a chronic fear of abandonment and/or rejection (American Psychiatric Association, 2000), with a pervasive instability in self image, interpersonal relationships and mood (Oltmanns and Emery, 2006). The borderline both wants an intimate relationship and fears the abandonment that may result from it, and becomes anxious over realistic time-limited separations.

Dependent Personality Disorder involves a pervasive pattern of dependent and submissive behaviour (Oltmanns and Emery, 2006). Dependent individuals rely excessively on others, even for mundane input into such things as clothing choice. Because so much emphasis is placed on others, dependents have a problem being autonomous. This may result in frantic efforts to establish new relationships immediately upon the termination of old ones, or in seeking out potential relationships prior to old ones ending.

The Avoidant Personality is marked by a pervasive pattern of social discomfort, fear of negative appraisal, and timidity (Oltmanns and Emery, 2006). Concerns over negative appraisal do not necessarily need to be real. As stated by Gertzfeld (2006, p. 223), "[individuals] with Avoidant Personality Disorder are fearful of the possibility of criticism, rejection, or disapproval and, therefore, will usually not engage in social relationships unless they are assured of being liked".

Histrionic Personality Disorder is characterised by attention seeking and gross emotionality. Their attention seeking is such that if they are not the centre of attention, they become uncomfortable (Gertzfeld, 2006), which may result in increasingly raucous behaviour to acquire attention. While their emotions are extreme, they tend to be superficial yet blown out of proportion.

Assertive Oriented Victims

Assertive victims engage in behaviours that reinforce self esteem through domination, authority, control, humiliation, and derogation, among others. In essence, they make others feel bad to make themselves feel better. In their attempts to dominate and control others, assertive victims actively precipitate events through their own aggressive interactions, which creates stress, frustration and anxiety in others.

These victims often have dominant personalities, and repeatedly try to impart their own wishes and desires onto others, regardless of reception. As a result of their interactions with others, they may get reputations of being unpleasant to be around. They will be constantly at odds with romantic others, as they engage in a battle of wills, often over trivial or meaningless matters.

Because this motive is associated with a low self esteem, like the assertively oriented offender, these victims may be suffering from Narcissistic Personality Disorder.

The features of Narcissistic Personality Disorder include a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, a constant need for admiration, and a lack of empathy that begins by early adulthood (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). A presumed etiology for this disorder is positive praise by the parents. Too little, and the individual over compensates by developing a desire for adoration, an excess of underserved praise, and the individual comes to believe the positive press.

Retaliatory Oriented Victims

Retaliatory or Revenge victims harbour a great deal of rage towards individuals, groups or organisations. Their behaviour is driven by anger, taken out on others blamed for personal inadequacies, failures, or loss. Because these victims are driven by anger, they may act impulsively whenever the level of anger is enough to evoke a response.

This individual may become a victim because their overt aggressiveness may bring about stress, anxiety, and aggression in others. For example, they may inhibit the opportunities of significant others out of hatred and anger resulting from perceived or imagined wrongs. This may begin a never ending cycle of power struggles, creating tumultuous relationships.

Retaliatory victims blame others for failures, and they have an inability to take blame or responsibility. Because of this, they blame others for their own problems. In psychological terms this is called projection, which involves imparting one's own feelings onto others. In a study by Vaillant (1994), the ego defense of projection was found in those with Narcissistic Personality Disorder in 100% of the cases examined.

A revenge orientation may arise as a result of Paranoid Personality Disorder, Passive-Aggressive Personality Disorder, and in some cases, Borderline Personality Disorder.

Paranoid Personality Disorder involves a pervasive suspiciousness and distrust of others, to the point they see themselves as blameless for their faults and mistakes (Gertzfeld, 2006). Despite persecutory thoughts having no basis in reality, they suspect that others are always looking to exploit them, and they will always see good or positive interactions as having some hidden agenda. Because they view others with suspicion, it may be difficult for them to form new relationships.

Passive-Aggressive Personality Disorder may bring about retaliatory behaviour owing to their resistance to fulfilling routine social and occupational tasks, their complaints about being misunderstood by others, being argumentative, and the expression of envy and resentment towards others who are apparently more fortunate (all diagnostic criteria, see American Psychiatric Association, 2000).

While not discussed anywhere in the extant literature on these motivations, not all anger behaviour comes from a retaliatory or excitation origin. In some instances, the anger is the result of a generalised state that is pervasive. As a result, these authors suggest the addition of a Pervasive Anger motivation to this classification.

Excitation Oriented Victims

The Excitation Oriented victim axis is the most difficult to adapt from their offender counterparts, because excitation behaviour is related to sadism, an act requiring at least two individuals. In order to be able to link the motivational typologies to the victim motivation typologies, slight modification is required. Admittedly, the proportion of excitation motivated victims is small, as is the proportion of excitation oriented rapists (Hazelwood and Burgess, 2009). Sadistically oriented behaviour is difficult to gauge in terms of its prevalence because it is largely hidden from view, with a commensurate dearth of research literature as a result.

For the purpose of this paper, excitation could take one of two forms. The first being actual sadism, and the second being masochism. The former is usually directed externally, while the latter is directed internally. In a small number of cases, both disorders may be present and expressed in sexual and other aspects of behaviour. According to the DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 573), Sexual Sadism involves:

Acts (real, not simulated) in which the individual derives sexual excitement from the psychological or physical suffering (including humiliation of the victim)...Others act on the sadistic urges with a consenting partner (who may have Sexual Masochism) who willingly suffers pain or humiliation. Still others with Sexual Sadism act on their sadistic sexual urges with nonconsenting victims. In all of these cases, it is the suffering of the victim that is sexually arousing. When Sexual Sadism is severe, and especially when it is associated with Antisocial Personality Disorder, individuals with Sexual Sadism may seriously injure or kill their victims.

In those cases involving sadism with either compliant on non-compliant partners, active precipitation assault or homicide may ensue when the victim fights back, realising the danger of the situation. According to the DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 572), Sexual Masochism involves:

Acts (real, not simulated) of being humiliated, beaten, bound, or otherwise made to suffer...Others acts on the masochistic sexual urges by themselves (e.g. binding themselves, sticking themselves with pins, shocking themselves electrically, or self-mutilation) or with a partner. One particularly dangerous form of Sexual Masochism, called "hypoxyphilia", involves sexual arousal by oxygen deprivation obtained by means of chest compression, noose, ligature, plastic bag, mask, or chemical (often a volatile nitrite that produces temporary decrease in brain oxygenation by peripheral vasodilation).

In those cases involving Sexual Masochism, either alone or in company, persons are at risk of harm or loss, usually at their own hand. This may be a result of hypoxyphilia as suggested above, or in extreme cases where the victim engages in other forms of self harm, such as cutting or piercing.

It should be noted that not all self harm behaviour is sexual in nature, and may be more common than believed. Klonsky, Oltmanns and Turkheimer (2003), in their review on prevalence and psychological correlates, note that approximately 4% of the general population self harm (see Briere, 1998), 14% of college students engage in this behaviour (see Favazza, DeRosear and Contrerio, 1989), with as high as 35% of college students reporting at least one self-harm incident in their lifetime (Gratz, 2001). They also note that psychopathology runs the full gamut of personality disorders, but most notably Borderline, where self harm is one of the diagnostic criteria.

In the context of victim behaviour, self harm is a form of affect regulation. This position is supported by Klonsky (2006, p. 226), who identifies four correlates between emotion and self-harm behaviour:

Acute negative affect precedes self-injury;
Decreased negative affect and relief are present after self-injury;
Self-injury is most often performed with intent to alleviate the negative affect; and
Negative affect and arousal are reduced by the performance of self-injury proxies in laboratory settings.

Essentially, self-harm functions by converting psychological or emotional pain into physical pain. It transforms the internal pain, for which there may be little insight and therefore no perceived solution, into external (physical) pain, for which little insight is needed, and where the solution is perceived to be simple.

Materially Oriented Victims

A Materially Oriented victim engages in behaviour that results in some kind of material benefit (monetary, goods, etc). In victim motivations, this is not identified as Profit as with offenders. While it is true that in some cases individuals will engage in behaviours that provide significant financial benefit (staying with a wealthy but controlling or abusive partner), in other situations, it may be all an individual can do but to meet even the smallest of financial commitments (staying with a controlling or abusive partner who militantly controls access to financial resources). In the latter case, there may be no such profit to be had.

Victims of this orientation may also increase their risk of harm or loss by engaging in activities such as prostitution or drug dealing. These victims may also open themselves up to exploitation where the offender knows the victim is seeking monetary gain. Their lack of financial resources may be the result of poor financial decisions, controlling partners, or a lack of education to attain sufficiently lucrative employment. They may also have gambling or drug habits. Any or all of these situations can result in depression, anxiety, frustration and stress that may exacerbate their situation.

In cases where feelings create dissonance, any behaviour on the part of the victim may be minimised or rationalised as somehow necessary, or that the short term cost is worth the long term gain. This may lead them to engage in increasingly risky behaviours, placing them at greater and greater risk. In reality, any gain is usually short lived, and the cycle will start again.

Preservation Oriented Victims

Many of the processes and behaviours of the human condition are intended to restore or maintain homeostasis. According to Oltmanns and Emery (2006), people attempt to strike a balance between too little stimulation and too much negative stimuli, such as stress and anxiety. For an individual with too little stimulation, the balance may be restored by engaging in extreme sports, for individuals who are long term victims of domestic abuse, their homeostasis may be restored by eliminating the source of the stress: an abusive spouse or partner (the so-called case of battered woman syndrome or various self defence claims).

Attempts to regulate physical or psychological integrity not only involve the primary party, but also others within their care or supervision. Preservation victims may also behave in ways that ensure the safety or survival of others, such as children or others under their direct care. In cases where victims may strike back against oppressors, there is generally some allowance under the law wherein the punishment is mitigated or criminal responsibility absolved where claims of self defense are legitimate.

For some, staying in an abusive relationship may be seen as the more viable alternative, as to leave would mean certain death. This mental state is supported in the research on domestic homicide, suggesting that women are most at risk of violence within the immediate time of their departure (Burnley, Edmunds, Gaboury and Seymour, 1996).

Research Support

In attempting to develop a general model that would explain victim behaviour, the first author began to apply the behaviour-motivation typology (see Petherick and Turvey, 2008) to casework with good anecdotal support. While further research activity is being undertaken on specific applications, the following research support provides some indirect support for the victim-motivational typology.

In 2005, McCabe and Wauchope studied the Behavioural Characteristics of Men Accused of Rape. The study was designed to "determine whether the behavioural characteristics demonstrated by rapists clustered together into groups that were similar to the common rapist described in the literature: anger, power exploitative, power reassurance, and sadistic" (2005, p. 241). As a result, this could be seen as a proxy validation study for the typology. This first study found some validity to the characteristics usually associated with with each of the four types, especially reassurance oriented and sadistic. The results of study 2 closely replicated the results of study 1.

A study conducted in Jordan by Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) regarding the reasons that Jordanian women stay in abusive relationships provides some further implicit support. Gharaibeh and Oweis used a qualitative approach in developing five main reasons why women stay in abusive relationships. These are Inherited Social Background, Financial Dependency, Lack of Family Support, Sacrificing Self for the Sake of Children, and Social Consequences of Divorce. While some of these juxtapose neatly onto the victim-motivational typology, others require some level of interpretation on which to make a judgement. As they used self report in their research, more rationalisation than motive is explored, suggesting further work is necessary in understanding the base behaviours before attribution can be undertaken.

In another work, Buel (1999) discusses 50 reasons why abuse victims stay. Many of these are representative of victim behaviour motivations. This includes reassurance oriented reasons such as Low Self Esteem, Gratitude, and Denial. Materially Oriented

reasons such as Financial Abuse, Financial Despair, Homelessness and No Job Skills were uncovered in this research as well. The identified Preservation needs Believes Threats, Children's Best Interest, Fear of Retaliation, and Safer to Stay. There is no implicit connection to Assertive, Retaliatory or Excitation victims. It is noted that the author, while drawing on studies in the area of domestic violence, has not conducted any empirical research of her own, citing instead "some reasons I have either witnessed among the thousands of victims and with whom I have had the honour of working with over the past twenty-two years" (p. 19). This means that the distribution of these motivations within the studied sample is unknown, and the degree to which these results are generalisable to larger victim samples is also unknown.

Conclusion

The application of the above typology is useful in understanding the psychological condition of victims (and potential victims), so as to provide a more holistic understanding of their behaviour before, during, and potentially after, a crime. Far from the victim blaming accusations leveled at the concept of victim precipitation, identifying the operative motives in victimisation has similar benefits to that of identifying motive in criminal behaviour. With a victim population, this may help in the provision of crime prevention, informing various types of victim services, providing context to victim precipitation, and informing victims about various behaviours they exhibit that may put them in harm's way, among others.

There is so far strong anecdotal evidence for the practical utility of the offender typology through a meta-analysis of studies proposing similar typologies. Additional research will be conducted to validate the use of this typology in offender behaviour and to identify discrete categories and the distinguishing behaviours peculiar to each type.

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